

29 June 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

The attached are the full texts of Adenauer's speeches made in Bonn on 20 June 1953 and in Berlin on 23 June 1953.

ALLEN W. DULLES
Director

Attachments

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BONN

"The events in Berlin have found a powerful echo in German public opinion and in the world at large. They have developed into a determined demonstration of the will for freedom of the German people of the Soviet Zone and of Berlin. Our hearts go out to the men and women in Berlin who are demanding their liberation from oppression and distress. We assure them that we are with them in unshakable solidarity.

"A real change in the conditions of life in the Soviet Zone and Berlin can be achieved only by the restoration of German unity in freedom. The way to reunification was pointed out, once more again by the Bundestag's resolution of 10 June, viz: free elections throughout Germany; the formation of a free all-German government; the conclusion of a peace treaty to be freely negotiated with such a government; the settlement of all outstanding territorial questions; the guarantee to an all-German parliament and an all-German government of freedom of action within the framework of the principles and aims of the United Nations.

"The Federal Government will conduct its policy in accordance with the terms of this resolution of 10 June and will, in addition, make every effort to secure such effectual alleviations in interzonal trade and movement between Berlin and the Federal Republic as may pave the way to the restoration of unity.

BONN (continued)

"The Federal government are watching developments with the closest attention. They are maintaining contact with the representatives of the Western Powers.

"Let us Germans stand together irrespective of political distinctions for the attainment of our noble common goal."

BERLIN

"Our hearts are filled with grief, while we think of our dead, those dead who gave their blood for freedom and whose blood was shed by brutal and cruel rulers striving to maintain their tyrannic rule. With us millions of Germans are mourning; with us all those in other countries are mourning who hate slavery and love freedom.

"It is with profound sympathy that we think of the grief and sorrow of those who remained behind; that we commemorate the other victims of this cruel tyranny: those injured and hurt, those whom they have thrown in jail, and those whom they search for and whom they persecute in order to take out on them their rage, hatred, and fear.

"The revolt broke out with elementary force. A ripple of dissatisfaction at the construction site on Frankfurter Allee surged into an immense wave of embitterment and desperation which swept the entire large area of East Berlin, Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Dessau, and Gera, which swept the uranium mining area, the rural population of Saxony and Mecklenburg, and the entire Soviet Zone.

"Like a hurricane the long-accumulated feelings of desperation and distress broke loose against slavery and oppression, oblivious of death and danger. The revolt of the millions against their Communist and Soviet rulers shows the enormity of the pressure which has been weighed heavily on this part of Germany for many years. Neither Russian armor and machine guns nor the machine pistols of the Communists could frighten them or keep them from risking and sacrificing their lives.

REMLIN (continued)

"Respectfully we bow our head to them, and respectfully we salute them: all of them, the dead and the living, those martyrs of freedom who, before the entire world, bore testimony that they could not bear slavery any longer.

"They have shown to the entire world that Germans do not want to be slaves. They have shown to the entire world that they are unwilling to suffer tyranny any longer; that for the Germans the time of totalitarian rule is passed. It is possible to quell the uprising of an unarmed and defenseless people by means of arms, but its will and its resolution not to yield cannot be torn from its breast.

"News of this revolt will spread like a soaring flame throughout Germany and the world, a flame which shows that our will for freedom cannot be broken by force.

"To our compassion and grief is added our pride in those heroes of freedom, our pride in all those who rose against this eight year-long slavery. The entire German people behind the Iron Curtain call upon us not to forget them, and so we swear at this solemn hour: we shall not forget them. We shall neither halt nor rest--and I take this oath on behalf of the entire German people--until freedom has been restored to them, until all of Germany has been reunited in peace and freedom.

"It is with deep sorrow and compassion, but also with great admiration, that we think of all the martyrs of freedom. Let us never forget the dead, and let us help those who are alive. God will be with them as he will be with us."